Séminaire Histoire et Epistémologie des Sciences du Langage   ***Jeudi 28 mai 2009***

1. Hidatsa Texts
1.1. 5 étapes :
1.- Washington Matthews 1877
2.- Lowie 1911 : Hidatsa texts
3.- Harris et Voegelin 1939 : reprise des Hidatsa texts et annotations grammaticales
4.- Florence Robinett 1955 : thèse sur le Hidatsa sous la direction de Voegelin, à partir des matériaux de 1939 + nouveaux enregistrements.
5.- Matthews 1965 : *Hidatsa Syntax* entre Harris et Chomsky

- Lowie Robert H. 1975 [1939] *Hidatsa texts*; with grammatical notes and phonograph transcriptions by Zellig Harris and C. F. Voegelin New York : AMS Press.
- Robinett Florence M., 1955, « Hidatsa I :morphophonemics », *IJAL* vol 21 :1-7
- Robinett Florence M., 1955, « Hidatsa II :affixes », *IJAL* vol 21 :160-77
- Robinett Florence M., 1955, « Hidatsa III: stems and themes », *IJAL* vol 21 :210-16
- Matthews G. H., 1965 *Hidatsa Syntax*, The Hague :Mouton& co.

1.2. les listes de morphèmes
A propos d'un des 4 lexiques (= liste de morphèmes) existant avant 1949, celui de Li (1933) « Chipewyan Stems » :
« there is little the non-linguist can do with these morphemes as such. To the linguist, however, no score of music looks more pleasant than a really sophisticated morpheme list like Fang-Kuei Li's. The late Leonard Bloomfield frequently remarked in admiration and pleasure over this specific work. It is probably no exageration to say that no single genre of linguistic literature is more useful than a morpheme list. »(cf. review de C.F et Ermine W. Voegelin dans *IJAL* vol 17 1951 :131-134)

1.3. Florence Robinett (1955)
3 junctures :
/+/ pause brève (phonétique) à l'intérieur d'un syntagme ou d'un mot
/│ │/ fin de syntagme (phonétique : pause brève et légère intonation montante sur l'avant-dernière syllabe)
/#/ fin d'énoncé (phonétique : pause brève et légère intonation descendante sur l'avant-dernière syllabe)
consonnes :
- stops :p, t, c, k, ?
- fricatives : sv, x, h
- liquides : w, r
voyelles :i e a o u
non-segmental : /'/ accent principal ; /./ two mora vocalic length

T : thème
Affixes :
Prefixe ou suffixe 0 /a-/ ou /i-/ 3ème personne (43)
Suffixe /-c/ prédicatif (1271)
Suffixe /-he./ causatif (1021)
Suffixe 0 ou /-h/ impératif (1282)

Exemples de thème contenant I :

[cà :kI] which appears in cà :kic *he's wailing* (43 + T + 1271) and cà :k *wail !* (T + 1282)

[àrakitI-] which appears in àrakitik *it's on fire* (43 + T +1271) and àrakithe.c *he sets it on fire* (43 + T +1021+43+1271)

[kipà.takI-] in kipà.takic *it's closed* (43 + T + 1271) and kipà.tak *close it !* (43 + T + 1282)

2. *International Journal of American Linguistics* : numéros 19 (1953) et 20 (1954)
- Voegelin C.F., 1953, « From FL (Shawnee) to TL (English), autobiography of a woman » *International Journal of American Linguistics* vol.19 :1-25
- Voegelin C.F., Florence M.Robinett, and Nancy P.Hickerson, 1953, « From FL (Shawnee) to TL (English) : some differences between two versions of the autobiography » *International Journal of American Linguistics* vol.19 :106-117.

Sommaire d'IJAL (*International Journal of American Linguistics*) 1954, vol 20:
- Harris Z.S., 1954, "Transfer grammar", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :259-270.
- Voegelin C.F., 1954, "Multiple Stage Translation", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :271-280
- Yegerlehner J., 1954, "The first five minutes of Shawnee laws in Multiple Stage Translation", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :281-294
- Hockett Ch., 1954, "Translation via Immediate Constituents" *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :313-315
- Garvin P. L., 1954, "Colloquial Kutenai Text: Conversation II" *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :316-334
- Casagrande Joseph B., 1954, "The ends of translation", *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol 20: 4 Translation Issue, :335-340

Edward Sapir (1884 - 1939)
Harris Zellig, Sabbettai (1909-1992)
Hockett Charles F. (1916-2000)
Voegelin Charles Frederick (1906-1986)
Garvin Paul (1919-1994)

2.1. C.F. Voegelin : Multiple Stage Translation
• la procédure de traduction
- l'établissement du texte à traduire.
- recueil d'un récit auprès de l'informateur
- Pour préparer la traduction on a trois éléments :
a) un enregistrement des épisodes enregistrés à vitesse rapide (enregistrement au micro)
b) une transcription des mêmes épisodes répétés à vitesse écrite (writing speed) et transcrits phonématiquement
c) les différences notées entre a) et b)

- on a deux versions du texte transcrit :
version A : transcrite directement à partir de la machine (magnétophone) en l'absence de l'informateur (phonèmes et morphèmes)
version C :version transcrite à partir de la répétition par l'informatrice de son premier récit enregistré qu'on lui fait repasser (playback) (phonèmes et morphèmes + phonèmes ayant été ajouté dans la version lente)

• outils pour la traduction : unités de traduction, lexique, opérations
- unités de traduction : étendues de traduction (translation spans) qui sont les contours. Ce ne sont pas des unités linguistiques.
- les mots sont délimités par des …
- les contours sont marqués entre crochets dans la version C ; marqués par des H dans la version A : le premier peut être 1H mais difficilement être H1H puisque le premier H fait une phonemic référence à un contour précédent.
- les contours sont délimités par les junctures:
        + plus juncture (interruption ou pause sur un ton)
        # double cross juncture (la dernière ou les dernières voyelles ne sont pas voisées)

• opérations de la procédure de traduction :
- soustraction (italiques) : ce qu'on soustrait au Shawnee quand on passe à l'anglais
- addition (petites capitales et gras) : catégories obligatoires en anglais qui n'existent pas en Shawnee ; en particulier certains déterminants.
 - réarrangement des mots

Finalement on a 4 versions de la traduction:

1) **version C** : version transcrite à partir de la répétition par l'informatrice de son premier récit enregistré qu'on lui fait repasser (playback) (phonèmes et morphèmes + phonèmes ayant été ajoutés dans la version lente)

2) **version A** : transcrite directement à partir de la machine (magnétophone) en l'absence de l'informateur (phonèmes et morphèmes)

3) **bracketed and parenthetic English**

bracketed : unité de traduction, le contour : traduction mot à mot du Shawnee en anglais, où sont gardées (opération d'addition) les éléments existant en Shawnee et non en anglais. en italiques.

parenthetic English : après l'application d'opérations (soustractions et réarrangements des mots), on a une version anglaise où sont rajoutés les éléments obligatoires en anglais en gras

4) **une version éditée** (avec ponctuation de la version en anglais)

Shawnee of Episode 1 :

version C :

[Oklahooma niila] [hoˇcilenawe] [ninyeewaapitali kiten ?ø wi] [n+ …hinoki] [(hi)noki yaama kiiˇsa?ø wa] [meta ? + … meta ?øwimaali kite nekotwa ? øwi] [heta ?koøakino ?ki] [nekotimaali kitepa ?øi] [naamin ooˇci] [nita ?maaˇcilooøiya] [laapelaawikiiˇsaøwa] …

version A :

1 oklahoma + nila H2H oˇcilenawe H3H mit … miyaptaki ø wi + katawi + k + ten?øwin … H4H inoki H5H neen ? … nokiyaamakiiˇsa ? øwa #

bracketed and parenthetic English of Episode 1 :

[Oklahoma **I** >] = (Oklahoma), [there-live] = (< **I** live there) [**I**-be-forty and-three] = (I'm 43), [**now** >], [*now*-this-month]= (<**now** this month), [*te*… ten-miles + *plus* +six] = (16 miles **east** >) [<**east** + **and**>], [one-mile + plus-half] = (<**and** one and a half miles SOUTH), [Norman from] = (from Norman), [**I**-was-born-there] = (**I** was born there), [July *month*] = (July), [second *thus-he-is-counted*] = (second) [hundred - *operator* = plus-ninety-opertor = zero-nine … *ain*] = (1909), [one-figures out] = (one figures out), [**I**-was-born #] = (I was born),

punctuated English of Episode 1 :

Oklahoma, I live there. I'm 43, now, this month. I was born there, sixteen miles east, and one and a half miles south, from Norman. I was born, one figures out, July 2 1909. My father was named Carrying Voice. My mother was named Feather Woman

« Parenthetic English, is, like bracketed English, also a quasi-language, an intermediate stage in translation. Unlike bracketed English, which follows Shawnee word-order, parenthetic English follows English word-order. » (Voegelin, 1953 :4).

les 8 étapes de la procédure de traduction (Voegelin 1954)

1. identification et traduction de mots entiers par l'informateur dans la FL (foreign/from language)

2. identification des morphèmes par le traducteur

3. les spans de traduction sont entre crochets, avec des équivalences données pour les séquences à dilemme, les idiomes et les métaphores qui sont mis entre accolades à l'intérieur des crochets.

4. les redondances spécieuses et vraies sont mises en italiques pour montrer qu'on ne doit pas continuer à les prendre en compte.

5. les spans de traduction sont mis entre parenthèses ; ils diffèrent des crochets correspondant parce qu'ils suivent l'ordre des mots de la TL (target language).

6. les mots occasionnels sont transféré d'un span de traduction à un span voisin et sont écrits en caractères gras pour montrer qu'ils ont été déplacés de leur span de traduction original.

7. les maladresses sont lissées en transposant toutes les parenthèses

8. la ponctuation dérivée en partie de la FL (foreign/from language) à l'aide de substitutions diverses

analyse compositionnelle

Forme originale en FL [pas donnée dans Voegelin 1954]	Informant's whole word translation	Translator's identification of the morphemic constituent translation
	window pane	Inanimate thing which is transparent
	gun	Iron arrow
	baptism	water to spill over

2.2. Hockett :Translation via Immediate Constituents

traduction chinois -> anglais

Jè	-i	gen	ni	yi	gùng	gai	wo	de	hai	chà	de	dwo	ne
proximal	thing state	with, and	thou	one	toge-ther	must owe	I,me	nominalizer	Still, yet	differ fall short	nominalizer	much more many	suspensive

Build-up of immediate constituents:

- altogether
- altogether owe(s)
- altogether must
- owe(s) me altogether
- you owe me altogether
- what you owe me altogether
- this | and what you owe me altogether
- this and what you owe me altogether | yet differ(s)
- this is still less than what you owe me altogether
- the extent to which this is still less than what you owe me altogether
- this is still a lot less than what you owe me altogether
- This is STILL a lot less than what you owe me altogether

3. Harris et la grammaire de transfert pour la traduction
3.1. Les conceptions de Sapir revisitées par Harris

- Harris Z.S., 1951, « Review of Mandelbaum ed. 1949 Selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture and personality », *Language* 27 :288-333.

(3.1.1.) "In spite of endless differences of detail, it may justly be said that all grammars have the same degree of fixity. One language may be more complex or difficult grammatically than another, but there is no meaning whatever in the statement which is sometimes made that one language is more grammatical, or form bound, than another" (Sapir / Mandelbaum :9-10).

(3.1.2.) "The outstanding fact about any language is its formal completeness. … No matter what any speaker of it may desire to communicate, the language is prepared to do his work. … Formal completeness has nothing to do with the richness or the poverty of the vocabulary. … The unsophisticated natives, having no occasion to speculate on the nature of causation, have probably no word that adequately translates our philosophic term 'causation', but this shortcoming is purely and simply a matter of vocabulary and of no interest whatever from the standpoint of linguistic form. … As a matter of fact, the causative relation … is expressed only fragmentarily in our modern European languages … [but] in Nootka … there is no verb or verb form which has not its precise causative counterpart" (153-5).

(3.1.3.) "Which meanings or kinds of meaning are expressed by which kinds of structural elements (paradigmatic sets, large open classes like nouns, etc.) is nevertheless of considerable interest in discussing a language as social behavior. It may affect perception, and may in part determine what can be efficiently said in that language. Sapir pointed out, for example, that the Nootka **translation** for *The stone falls* would be grammatically equivalent to *It stones down* (something like the difference between *Rain is falling* and *It's raining),* and commented that such differences show a "relativity of the form of thought" (159). (Harris, 1951 :292)

(3.1.4) "To pass from one language to another is psychologically parallel to passing from one geometrical system of reference to another. The environing world which is referred to is the same for either language; the world of points is the same in either frame of reference. But the formal method of approach to the expressed item of experience, as to the given point of space, is so different that the resulting feeling of orientation can be the same neither in the two languages nor in the two frames of reference" (Mandelbaum /Sapir :153).

Anglais/hébreu

(Harris, 1954 :268)

H \ E	V + ed	Preverb + V	V to V	It's A that N V	I
V +pers	x				
Pers + V		x			
V le V		x	x		
A se pers + V		x		x	
ani					x
(ani) e-					x
(ani) - ti					x

1ère ligne : structures de l'anglais
1ère colonne : structures de l'hébreu
Preverb : will, shall, can, could, may
V+pers : éléments personnels suffixés
Pers + V : éléments personnels preffixés

• 3 environnements possible pour *I* pour 3
I (en anglais) se traduit en hébreu par le préfixe *e-* s'il est suivi par *will be* (en hébreu pers +V)
I (en anglais) se traduit en hébreu par le suffixe (ani) – ti s'il est suivi par V+ed (ou V+pers)
I (en anglais) se traduit en hébreu par ani dans tous les autres cas

tableau 3- (Harris 1954 :269)

H \ E	V +ed	Will /shall V	Preverbs not listed elsewhere + V	V to V	(may/might/ should) + V	It's A that N (Ved /will V)	I am A /N	I will V	I Ved
V +pers	x								
Pers +V		x							
(yahol /murax / etc) leV			x						
Other V+le V				x					
(efsar/ naxon/ etc) se pers. V					x				
Other A+se (pers V/V pers)						x			
Ani (-A / -N)							x		
Ani e + pers + V								x	
Ani V +pers +ti									x

HIDATSA SOUNDS AND PHONEMES

[p, t, k]: lenis stops, slightly voiced in intervocalic position, otherwise voiceless; released in word-final position and before voiceless consonants in clusters; [-k] has a labialized release after [-u-].

[p·, t·, k·]: fortis stops, strongly aspirated and somewhat lengthened.

[c, c·]: lenis and fortis affricate (cp. English ts in 'hats'); the latter is aspirated and lengthened, the stop on-glide rather than the sibilant off-glide being lengthened.

[š, x]: lenis continuants (š is like sh in 'ship' and x is like Spanish j in 'Jaime'). In writing Hidatsa, the letter s could be used for [š], since that is the only voiceless sibilant. However, there might be danger of confusion when Crow or Mandan words are compared, for these dialects have both [s] and [š].

[š·, x·]: fortis continuants, usually more than twice as long as the corresponding lenis members.

[h]: lenis continuant without correlative fortis member (cp. English h in 'help'); may be classified as "lenis" by virtue of its distribution.

All lenis consonants occur in syllabic and word-initial, and in syllabic and word-final position. All fortis consonants (1) are completely voiceless; (2) are ambisyllabic in intervocalic position, i.e., are in syllabic-final and syllabic-initial position at the same time; (3) occasionally in slow speech appear to end in a distinct [-h] off-glide; (4) are very rare in word-initial and uncommon in word-final position.

[w, r]: voiced consonants. Distribution: limited to syllabic initial. Phonetic actualization: in word initial [w] is phonetically [m], but occasionally a bilabial fricative is heard before [i]; [r] in word initial is phonetically [n] and as a variant before [i] is a one flap [r] either with glottal attack or momentarily held; between vowels, [w] is phonetically [w] (cp. English w in 'we'), [r] is [r] (less fricative than English r), often one flap [r] which early travelers heard as d.

TEXT I

FIRST WORKER INTRUDES ON SUN'S REALM

1. *i·'cihkawa·hiriš ašaruwi'ware·c he?eša·'k wiri?e·'raka to·š·a ata'?ak·u·?i·to·k iri'acak re·'ware·c*   2. *ra·'ruwa u?u'šiaware·c* 3. *he?eša·'k aru?ata'?ak·u·?i·ru awaka'?ak i?axu'ak wa·ki'ware·c*

I-1. *i·'cihkawa·hiriš* 'First Worker' [*i·'cihka* 'first'; *-wa·-* 'something'; *-hiri-* 'to make, do'; *-š* noun final; with *-hiri-*, as with a number of other stems, *wa·-* forms a unit with specialized meaning; cp. *hi'ric* 'he makes it', *wa·hi'ric* 'he works'; *-c* is verb final].

I-1. *ašaruwi'ware·c* 'he traveled around (they say)' [*aši-* 'to go around', *-aruwi-·* 'along', *-ware·-c* '(they say)'. The quotative *-ware·-* is always followed by the verb final, *-c*. Cp. *aši'c* 'he goes around'. Stems in *-i* contract with initial vowel of *-aruwi-: -i+a->-a-*].

I-1. *wiri?e·'raka* 'that sun' [*wiri'* 'water', also used for 'sun, moon, month', *e·'raka* demonstrative associated with actors such as characters in a myth].

I-1. *ata'?ak·u·?i·to·k* 'coming up over [the horizon], coming here always, I wonder' [*ate'?e-* 'to come up over' combines with verb final *-ak* as *ata?ak*, which in turn combines phonologically with *-hu·-* 'to come' as *ata?ak·u·-*; *-?i·-* iterative suffix; *-to·k* modal suffix 'I wonder'. Cp. *ate'?ec* 'he comes up over', *hu·c* 'he comes'; the verb final *-c* is employed when the verb concludes a sentence; verb final *-ak* and other verb finals are not used in sentence final. The modal suffix *-to·k* is sometimes used in place of *-c* as a combined verb- and sentence-final marker. The sequence *-e?e-> -a?ak* when *-ak* is added; voiceless consonants plus *-h* combine as a special class of fortis voiceless consonants indicated by the raised dot diacritic. In this example, *k+h>k·*].

I-1. *iri'acak* 'thinking' [*iriaci-* 'to think' with the thing thought generally given as a direct quotation; *-ak* verb final. Stem final *-i* fuses with *-ak*, and the resulting word is stressed on second or final syllable, according to the verb final employed: cp. above, and *iriaci'c* 'he thinks'].

I-1. *re·'ware·c* 'he went on (it is said)' [*re·-* 'to go'; *-ware·-c* quotative].

I-2. *ra·'ruwa* 'going along' [*re·-* 'to go' combines with *-aruwi-* 'along' as *ra·ruwi-*; *-a*, verb final, contracts with stem in *-i* yielding *-a*].

I-2. Cp. *u?u'šiac* 'he got there', with optional variant *u?a'šiac*, meaning unchanged.

I-3. *aru?ata'?ak·u·?i·ru* 'at the place where he comes up, coming here' [*aru-* localizes occurrence of *-ata?ak·u·?i·-*, for which see I-1; *-ru* verb final].

I-3. *awaka'?ak* 'digging the ground' [*a'wa* 'ground'; *ke?e-* 'to dig' combined with *-ak*, verb final].

I-3. Cp. *i?axu'ac* 'he hides'.

I-3. Cp. *wa·ki'c* 'he's there, lying down'.

[187]

89. *iri'acak re·'ware·c*   90. *awaši' wire·'ri ati'š še?ehku'a hi'ak
wa·kipa·hi'ware·c*   91. *riškare·' wata·'c huko·'wic he·'ware·c*
92. *haru'k ati' aku?i'ka·ri re·'šac hira·ka'ca kuhka't·a·c he·'ware·c*
93. *haru'k ho·' he·'ware·c*   94. *kirucki'tic*

I-90. *wa·kipa·hi'ware·c* 'he started to sing' [*wa·-* 'something'; -*ki-* inceptive
prefix; -*pa·hi-* 'to sing'; -*ware·-c* quotative. Note that the inceptive prefix is iden-
tical in form with the suus prefix. Cp. stress when quotative follows, as above, and
when verb final -*c* follows: *wa·pa·'hic* 'he sang', *wa·kipa·'hic* 'he began to sing'].

I-91. *huko·'wic* 'come! it's the end [of our separation]' [two words in a single
stress unit: *hu-*, also given as *huh*, imperative form of *hu·-* 'to come'; *ko·wi-* fol-
lowed by verb final -*c* 'that's all, it's the end'; cp. *ko·wi-* plus causative: *ko·wihe·'c*
'he quits', *ko·wiwa·'c* 'I quit'].

I-92. *aku?i'ka·ri* 'watcher' [*aku-* noun-deriving prefix, used in formation of
agentive noun; -*ika·-* 'to look at, watch'; -*ri* enclitic having no reference to word
to which it is attached but rather used somewhat like "to wit" before listing words
quoted].

I-92. *kuhka't·a·c* 'it's not ready' [*kuhka-* 'to be ready'; *t·a·-* negative suffix; -*c*
verb final].

I-94. *kirucki'tic* 'he begins to tighten it by hand', stylistic ending of myths
[*ki-* inceptive prefix; -*ru-* 'by hand'; -*cki·ti-* 'to tighten'; -*c* verb final. Here the
sentence is ended without the usual quotative].

TEXT I

TRANSLATION

1. First Worker traveled around (they say) and then, think-
ing "How does that Sun coming up over [the horizon] always
come here I wonder," he went on (they say). 2. Going along,
he got there (they say). 3. Then at the place where he [Sun]
always comes up over [the horizon], coming here, he [First
Worker] digging in the ground [and] hiding, stayed there (they
say). 4. Then that Day-Sun coming up over [the horizon] came
there (they say). 5. Reddening his body all over, using a rab-
bit skin as a hat, carrying his pipe, thus, he [Sun] sang (they say).
6. Then, with his pipe, from the clouds to the ground he made
motions as if he were throwing (they say). 7. Somewhat about
three times he made motions towards the ground as if he were
throwing (they say). 8. Thereupon the clouds came to the
earth (they say). 9. Then on that [place], climbing by means
[of the clouds], he went (they say).

10. When the Day-Sun had already gone, First Worker
himself, knowing now [how it's done], stood up (they say).